For almost a year now, the Dominion Society has been a pervasive and polarizing force within the discursive landscape of Canadian politics - especially so within the right-of-center landscape in which it is situated. For the uninitiated, the Dominion Society is essentially a nationalist, nativist (I'm using the term "nativist" in a neutral sense, not in the pejorative sense in which it is employed by the left) organization whose central objective is the preservation of Canada's founding-stock ethnocultural identity. According to them, the primary way in which this preservation can be achieved is through something called remigration - a multi-pronged approach to reversing demographic replacement that includes a moratorium on immigration, deportations, and restrictions on birthright citizenship.

Obviously and to the surprise of no one, the Dominion Society and the policy agenda they advance have become easy fodder for attacks from the left, with various epithets such as "racist" or "white nationalist" being thrown in their direction. The left, unrepentant after having engineering the 2021-24 migration cataclysm Canada was subjected to, still cling to the belief, borne out of the conditions of the past few decades, that such

bugaboo terms are sufficient to stifle all discussion of the inevitable tribal tensions that arise as a result of multiculturalism - even if this previous reality is rapidly and thankfully fading. Since such attacks from the left are, without exception, made in bad faith - and are aimed towards the teleological endpoint of dismantling western civilization - they can be easily and summarily dismissed without further engagement.

Unfortunately - but not surprisingly - the scope of these attacks is not strictly confined to just the left. Many on Canada's center-right - such as Jason Kenney and NCC director Alexander Brown - have also joined in on the pile-on, with many of their attempted hits directed towards the Dominion Society aping, or copying verbatim, the left's moral language. To give you a sampling, here is Jason Kenney's rather histrionic take on the DS:

Jason Kenney
@jkenney
Daniel Tyre is a racist.
Racism is immoral. It is poison. It is not "vitality." It is not conservative.
And what the hell does "remigration" mean? Forced mass deportation of people who lawfully immigrated to Canada, and are now permanent residents or Canadian citizens?
Bananas.
Cosmin Dzsurdzsa @cosminDZS · Feb 16
Important debate today between @CandiceMalcolm and @DanielTyrie on remigration. There's genuine vitality on the Canadian right right now: remigrationists and restrictionists, Alberta sovereigntists and Canadian nationalists. We're stronger for it.
...

Before I address the problems with the centre-right's response to the DS, it is worth examining the context in which the Dominion Society arose. The CPC's loss to Carney last year - despite its strong popular vote tally - nevertheless marked its fourth consecutive loss to the LPC. This comes despite the preceding decade of disastrous LPC rule, which included, among other things, untrammelled euthanasia, massive deficit spending, a litany of infringements on civil liberties and - perhaps most crucially -

an astronomical surge in migration during the 2021-24 period, something that led to a profound erosion in social trust. Losing an election is one thing. Losing when your opponent has this kind of track record is something else. Now, to be fair, the CPC did indeed criticize the government on many of these fronts where the LPC had failed. However, on that most significant of issues, mass migration, it was completely and utterly unable to muster a substantive critique. Pierre was ever-so-reluctant to touch the issue for the longest time (with the exception, of course, of promising direct flights to Amritsar and opposing the deportation of subcontinentals with expired visas). And even when he started to level criticisms, such as his opposition to the Century Initiative, they were always aggressively qualified using blank slatist libertarian bromides about immigrants arriving with nothing but "a dream and a suitcase".

To many, this reticence on immigration felt like something of a rugpull - yet the warning signs had been there for those with keen enough eyes to spot them. In 2022, Pierre kicked off his campaign for the CPC leadership by unabashedly embracing the Freedom Convoy at a time

when Trudeau was bashing them as a "fringe minority" and O'Toole was waffling. As part of this support, he deployed the slogan "fire the gatekeepers", which ostensibly compacted into three words a wide-ranging promise to remove from power various actors who had implemented lockdowns, vaccine and mask mandates, and even restrictive zoning laws. "Fire the gatekeepers", though, was not purely confined to just covid restrictions and housing. In fact, it was something of a double entendre. Gatekeepers is, after all, a rather vague and ambiguous term, ripe for a multitude of applications. A "gatekeeper" could also be someone in charge of a professional licensing body; the "gatekeeping" that they perform could consist of screening out those who are potentially unqualified to practice a certain profession. Often, this means barring immigrants who were credentialed in another country. To the Freedom Convoy chud, "fire the gatekeepers" meant ending the remaining covid policies that existed as of February 2022. To the taxi driver from Punjab, it meant letting him and his cousin-brother practice medicine, as Pierre was promising to expedite the credentialing process for "high-skilled" immigrant professionals.

Now, if you had asked the convoy chud if he supported this expedition of the credentialing process, he would almost certainly have answered "no". But the "fire the gatekeepers" slogan the convoy signed onto contained an implicit promise to do exactly that. It was a clever piece of rhetorical snake oil, meant to make two groups with near-diametrically opposed interests both think that Pierre would fight for them; the fact that Pierre was so eager to deploy such snake oil is a damning indictment of his leadership.

Yet this problem of ideological unsoundness is not unique to Pierre. Rather, it is something that envelops the CPC, and the broad Canadian right-of-centre writ large, and has done so for decades. Take, for example, Brian Mulroney - easily the most electorally successful conservative PM of recent times, being the only to win back-to-back majorities since Borden.

In June 1983, Pierre Trudeau's government - and, more specifically, his employment and immigration minister Lloyd Axworthy - created the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment (also known as the Abella

commission, as it was led by future Supreme Court justice Rosalie Abella, then a family court judge in Ontario). The commission released its report in October 1984 - a month after Mulroney took office - recommending the creation of an affirmative action program that would give preferential status to job candidates from various progressive client groups.

Given Mulroney's overwhelming majority in the House of Commons at that time - 211 seats in a then-282 seat chamber - it would have been entirely possible for him to wholeheartedly reject the recommendations contained in this report, especially since the report was the product of a commission created by the government he had resoundingly defeated. But, for whatever reason, he didn't.

Instead, we got the *Employment Equity Act of 1986*, which fully implemented the recommendations made by the Abella commission's report.

A similar thing happened with multiculturalism. Trudeau presented it as official policy in 1971, Mulroney codified it into law via the *Canadian*

Multiculturalism Act in 1988. This was coupled with an almost-tripling of Canada's annual immigration intake. When Mulroney took office in 1984, 88k immigrants arrived; by 1993, that numbers was 256k.

Harper, despite his political genesis in the Reform Party - which opposed multiculturalism and, more generally, the social liberalism of the Laurentians - didn't fare much better. His government fully embraced multiculturalism, even going as far as to make Jason Kenney (no surprise) an ambassador-of-sorts to various ethnic and diaspora communities. Immigration numbers during the 2006-15 period, while not astronomical, did gradually creep up, going from 251k to 271k annually.

This is the track record of Canada's right-of-centre establishment. In a healthy political landscape, they would be vigorously defending the interests of our country's heritage population. Yet, for at least five decades, they have conceded to the left that such a defense would be unnecessary at best and abhorrent at worst. They operate under an internal logic that they must eternally be in the process of "repenting" for their supposed transgressions, of practicing "moral hygiene" in the

hopes that this grovelling and denouncing will get them labelled as “one of the good ones” by someone within the Laurentian leviathan. At the end of the day, a pat on the head and a cushy sinecure is what they desire most.

There are two major problems with this. The first is that such a train of logic leads to a full acceptance of the left’s framing of what constitutes “right” and “wrong”, of what makes someone a “good person” or a “problematic” one with “unacceptable views”. And if you take the framing and the axioms they establish to heart, your critiques of the left will be rendered moot and appear as uninspiring and milquetoast. You won’t be able to effectively challenge their policies if you wholly buy-in to the presuppositions on which those policies rest.

The other problem with this self-flagellation and attempted ingratiation is that it simply doesn’t work. Constantly begging on your knees and asking for your alleged moral errors to be forgiven only serves to remind your opponents of those moral errors for which - from their perspective - you are grievously and eternally guilty. This, in turn, only results in more

stringent punishments for those crimes, and the dominance of leftist axioms only becomes more totalizing.

Begging also appears weak. It doesn't give off the confidence of a group that is prepared to effectively wield power, but instead of one that is unsure of who it is, who it represents, and what is stands for. As a result of this unease with its own ideas, it decides to co-opt the ideas of its enemies in a ham-fisted attempt at achieving what is, in effect, a pyrrhic victory.

It is with this context of ideological paucity, repeated electoral defeat, and general haplessness on the part of our "conservative" establishment that the Dominion Society should be viewed. The most simple argument for the necessity of their existence is that they are merely filling the gaping vacuum left by the various court eunuchs who run the CPC and consider a myriad of right-wing ideas to be beyond-the-pale.

Now, with this being said, I have several of my own criticisms of the DS which aren't insubstantial.

While a baseline level of anti-Americanism is inevitable in Canadian politics, the DS leans into it in a way that can lead to a sort of reflexive contrarianism, where Canada must take the mirror opposite trajectory to the U.S. in every way instead of considering proposals on their own merits independent of American politics. This has long been a weakness of the left in Canada, and the right must be careful to not replicate it. An anti-American stance also leads the DS to supporting a multipolar order that ineluctably features a more powerful China, a baffling position considering China's malignant threats to our electoral and national security over the past few years.

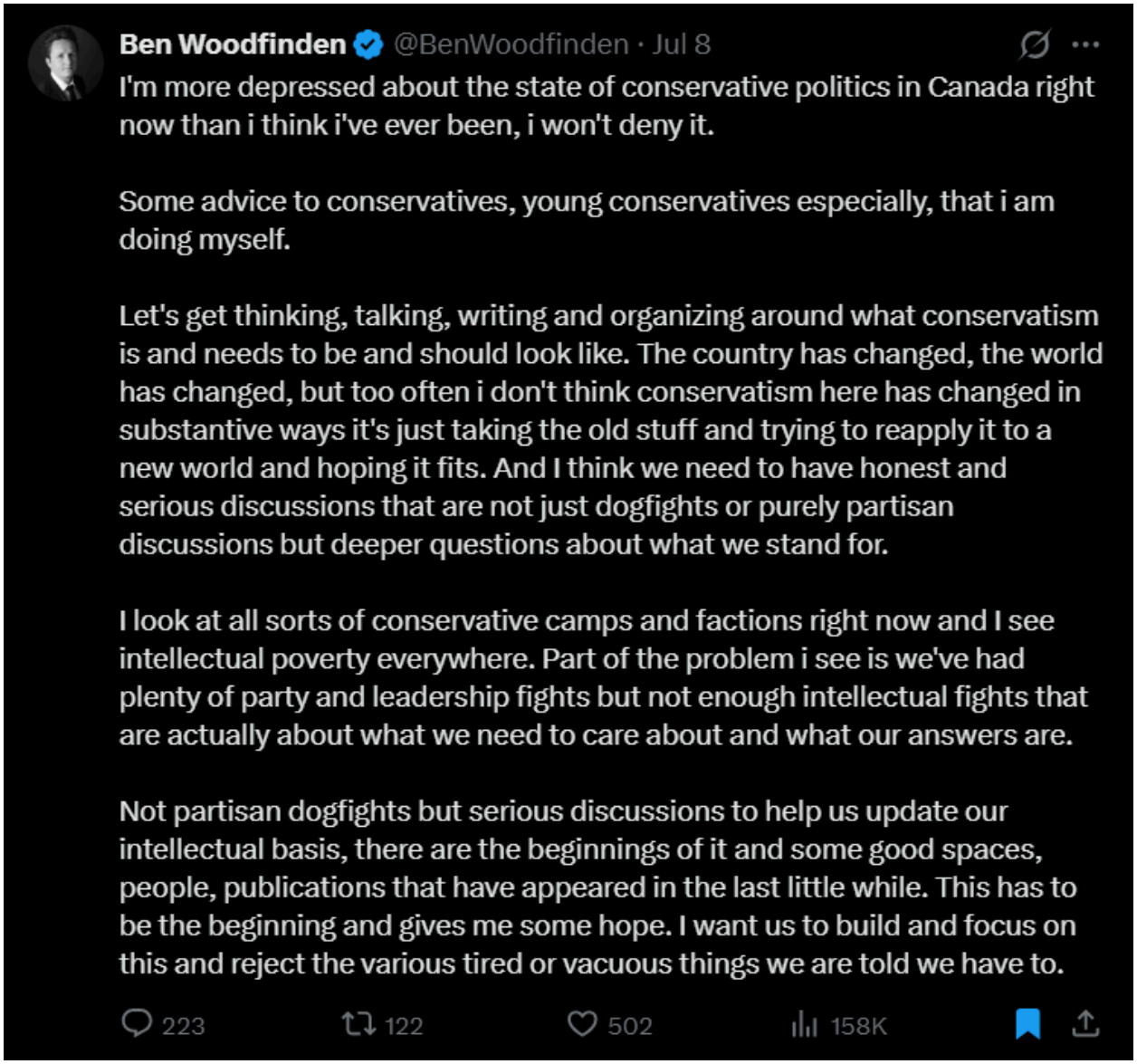
Their disdain for so-called "white ethnics" and support for official bilingualism, meanwhile, alienate them from the conservative base in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Canada's founding stock in the Laurentian and Atlantic provinces is primarily Anglo-French in nature - in the west, however, Russian, German, and Polish settlers arrived shortly after the creation of both provinces in 1905. Official bilingualism, for its part, is - in my view - rightly seen out west as a manifestation of a Laurentian tendency to assume that the characteristics of their region are

representative of Canada as a whole. French fluency numbers west of Ontario are abysmally low, meaning that bilingualism requirements will inevitably have the effect of screening out most job applicants who are from outside of the St. Lawrence watershed. The most reasonable assessment of bilingualism is that it functions as an affirmative action program for the LPC's bedrock of support - that is, the well-credentialed upper-middle class of Ottawa and Montreal.

Despite these critiques - which, I should emphasize, are friendly in nature - I want to make something perfectly clear (or, as Justin Trudeau used to say, crystal clear): the Dominion Society is not an enemy of the Canadian right. Engaging in metapolitics, as they do, makes perfect sense, as the federal electoral landscape is largely fruitless playground for anyone right-of-centre as of present. They are also correct in rejecting the rearguard action "conservatism" that has long served as the only alternative to the left in Canada in favour of a more counter-revolutionary form of politics. And while their more racialist tones may not be to the satisfaction of everyone, their attempts to renew a sense of civilizational identity in Canada are laudable. Incorrect as they

may be on a handful of issues, they are nonetheless directionally correct in their broad aims and on what matters most.

All of this, while relevant in previous years, is particularly pertinent in our present moment. As of the time I write this, Canada's mainline conservative movement is experiencing something of a broad, widely-felt malaise - a product of the aforementioned four losses to the LPC, sagging polling numbers, and a slow drip of floor crossings orchestrated by Carney's backroom Machiavellians. A summation of this state of affairs was provided the other day on X by Poilievre's ex-communications director, Ben Woodfinden:


Ben Woodfinden @BenWoodfinden · Jul 8
I'm more depressed about the state of conservative politics in Canada right now than i think i've ever been, i won't deny it.
Some advice to conservatives, young conservatives especially, that i am doing myself.
Let's get thinking, talking, writing and organizing around what conservatism is and needs to be and should look like. The country has changed, the world has changed, but too often i don't think conservatism here has changed in substantive ways it's just taking the old stuff and trying to reapply it to a new world and hoping it fits. And I think we need to have honest and serious discussions that are not just dogfights or purely partisan discussions but deeper questions about what we stand for.
I look at all sorts of conservative camps and factions right now and I see intellectual poverty everywhere. Part of the problem i see is we've had plenty of party and leadership fights but not enough intellectual fights that are actually about what we need to care about and what our answers are.
Not partisan dogfights but serious discussions to help us update our intellectual basis, there are the beginnings of it and some good spaces, people, publications that have appeared in the last little while. This has to be the beginning and gives me some hope. I want us to build and focus on this and reject the various tired or vacuous things we are told we have to.
223
122
502
158K

Such a situation is inexorably the result of Canada's right-of-centre - and the gatekeepers that guard its perimeters - systematically locking out the kinds of ideas that the DS promotes and focusing exclusively on a materialist libertarianism that agrees with the left on a number of core presuppositions.

And there are two ways that the CPC establishment can go about dealing with this. The first, and the path that they have generally taken so far, is to histrionically scorn the DS for its alleged crime of "racism", continue engendering ill-will and mistrust between the two camps, and leave the ideas that could make them into a more effective political movement untouched.

The second would be to extend an olive branch to the DS, and agree to participate in a good-faith dialectic. This doesn't mean those in the CPC need to necessarily adopt every policy the DS advocates, or that those who have previously expressed disdain for the DS need to become its biggest cheerleaders. Rather, this sort of move would simply require a recognition on the part of Canada's Con Inc. that they have failed in their endeavor of defeating the LPC, and therefore need to consult with those they have previously dismissed. Ben Woodfinden, to his credit, seems to recognize the need for "serious discussions to help us update our intellectual basis" - yet, in this regard, he is somewhat of an outlier. Also, it remains to be seen if these "serious discussions" will extend outside of the tightly-policed parameters of neoconservatism and extend

to things long-verboten - namely, nativism, nationalism, and neoreaction.

Doing this would require humility. It would require a willingness to seriously consider ideas that, if expressed in public, will make you *persona non grata* in Laurentian cocktail circles. It would also require courage - real and genuine courage.

Does our conservative establishment possess these qualities? I hope so. Are they willing to step over left-liberal axioms? I really wish they were. But I highly doubt it.

And as long as they are unwilling or unable to do the things they need to do, the things they must do in order to revitalize Canada, the Dominion Society will continue to be a presence in Canadian political discourse.